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612 group. If the head is a male, he is succeeded at death by the next oldest member, sometimes by his sister's son. His functions are light. He acts as gift-giver at the *waka* feasts for first-born children in the families making up the descent group. He represents the lineage at inter-lineage and village meetings, arranges for the carrying out of its activities in games, competitions and feasts. He has no special status in the community beyond a certain position within his own group, based on seniority. There is no record today of internal moiety organization, but it is likely that the senior lineage within the moiety formerly appointed a head man to oversee the affairs of the moiety.

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771 No *tapu* objects are linked with the maternal lineages today. No gods were linked with them in former times.

Informants had little clear memory of any association between moiety, lineage, or sub-lineage and plant, animal, or natural phenomena. There is no suggestion of any relationship that could be construed as totemistic.

It is possible that formerly each lineage had associated with it a type of decoration, or an object used as a status or prestige symbol. A suggestion of this occurs in the chant, "*Panenu Te Watu, kino te wenua*" (1); informants thought a reference to the *lei*, a seaweed that grows in the ocean and is said to color the sea red or yellow or green, was associated in some way with the *Wua Uila*. Informants were unable to define this relationship, nor could they in general give the names of other plant or natural phenomena linked with any of the other lineages. Two reliable informants, however, asserted that the *wetow* and coconut trees were linked with the *Lain*, and the *pandanus* tree with the *Kati* groups. They could give no details of this linkage and this reference may refer to a time when there was a type of prestige symbol associated with each lineage, a matter otherwise totally forgotten today.

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776 Today the sub-lineages are strictly exogamic. To marry a member of one's own sub-lineage is to commit incest (*hai wale*, "house eating" or *hai hiko*, "flesh eating"). There was no secular punishment for this breaking of *tapu*, but the goddess *Taus* or the god of his paternal lineage would punish a male deviant with sickness, tumors, or accidental death by falling from a tree; and *Mataliki* or the god of her paternal lineage would punish a woman with sickness, accidental death, difficult childbirth, loss of her child in childbirth, or barrenness.

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612 The maternal lineages are neither exogamic nor endogamic. The members of a lineage, provided they do not belong to the same sub-lineage, may intermarry if the other rules governing marriage, avoidance *tapus*, and rules of consanguinity are not infringed.

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171 In former times, before the sub-lineages had subdivided themselves from the lineages, the societies and lineages were possibly exogamic, and the lineages functioned as clans. As the number of lineages in each group increased and subdivided into smaller functional units, each sub-lineage continued the pattern of endogamy derived from the larger *waka*, and there was then no need to stress lineage exogamy. More precisely, exogamy,

613 The part played by the paternal lineages in regulating marriage, descent, succession, and inheritance, and the relative importance of maternal and paternal lineages in social organization are discussed elsewhere.

Close bonds unite a man to his paternal lineage and to his burial ground. Admittedly, he inherits land, coconut trees, and houses through his father, but beyond this, there is a real sentimental bond binding a man to his paternal grouping. It is always the paternal lineage and never the maternal lineage of a man that is mentioned at the beginning of each genealogy or story; informants somehow felt that by naming his paternal lineage, the hero of the story was placed and his status in the community accurately defined. The resident agent has had great difficulty in persuading the people that some cemeteries are too close to the villages to accord with ideals of modern public health. The conflict has become acute when the agent has insisted that the cemeteries be closed or the villages moved elsewhere. Either alternative has seemed impossible to the people of the lineage affected, and in one prohibited cemetery a burial was prevented only by placing the Union Jack across the already gaping grave and appealing to the loyalty of the people not to touch the sacred emblem of Pax Britannica.

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613 The paternal lineage does not seem to possess any formal structural organization. There is no council of the men of the group. Formerly each lineage had its constituted priests who worshiped the gods of the lineage in religious structures erected on lands of the group. Each lineage had a speaker leader, with the rank, in a minor lineage, of sub-chief (*langatila*), in a major lineage, of high chief (*alii*) or chief (*vae alii*). (See pp. 234-237.) Doubt exists in the minds of informants as to whether the word *langatila* is a Pukapukan word; some informants insist that it is not and that the correct designation for a minor chief was formerly *vae alii*, a collective word also applied, apparently, to an individual. Today *langatila* and the Rarotongan word *matenepe* are used to designate the two groups of minor chiefs.

LINEAGE AND VILLAGE

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621 For feasts, sports, and games, the community divided itself into smaller units based upon paternal lineage (*volongo* unit), maternal lineage (*vae* unit) or village membership (*vaetoyinga* unit, sometimes called *lalu laka*), depending upon the specific activity. Membership in the *volongo* unit is modified by the rule of patrilocal residence so that children adopted elsewhere and members of the lineage married into another village are excluded while persons residing with the patrilineal group through marriage or adoption are included.

616 Team membership for fishing and sporting contests was formerly always based on maternal lineage membership. One moiety contested against another moiety. At a later

period, organization was in terms of either *uma* or *yalongo* units. Village membership is the rule for team organization today, so that Loto village contests with Ngake and with Yato villages. It is probable that missionary effort hastened this change. Informants believed, however, that groupings of maternal or paternal units are superior to the village grouping. The following example was given: suppose there is a man who was born in Ngake, but who affiliates and resides (*uile*) in Yato. In an inter-village contest he fishes for Yato. He hooks a fish. If he pulls it into his canoe, his Ngake friends are angry with him for catching a fish for a rival village, and thus helping to defeat the village of his birth. If he lets the fish escape, his Yato friends are angry with him for remembering the village of his birth to the exclusion of his adopted village. Hence the man is at the mercy of conflicting loyalties, and he antagonizes friends whichever way he acts. The old maternal or paternal organization, therefore, was superior to the present village division.

Food divisions following fishing contests and other games are always in terms of either maternal or paternal organization. They are arranged in advance by village elders and food distributors. Before the division of food for a fishing contest (*malama*), the food dividers asked me how I wished the food to be divided. As I left the responsibility to them, they decided to make the division on the paternal (*yalongo*) principle. The food was first divided into three equal piles for the villages; then each pile was divided among the paternal lineages of each village.

Food divisions at marriage and birth feasts were formerly always in terms of maternal units. This is still common today, though division is sometimes made among the actual household groups concerned in the marriage. Food divisions of reserve lands produce are always in terms of village division. This follows the rule that control of reserves and work thereon is always maintained by village groupings.

It is a permissible speculation to consider Pukapukan history as a struggle for dominance between these three social groupings, principally however, between the maternal and paternal lineages. At the present time, the paternal lineage is much more important in social organization than the maternal grouping. The maternal sub-lineages still influence marriage and control land, but they share these functions with the paternal lineages and with the villages. The smaller maternal lineages seem to be dying out, or at least to be more and more subsumed by the moiety groupings. Dwindling numbers could easily be remedied by recourse to adoption, but maternal lineage adoption is rare, for the reason that few wish to take the trouble to keep the maternal lineages alive. The fact that the maternal lineage memberships of the principal characters in legends and stories are not remembered suggests that even in an immediate past these groupings were not so important as the paternal groupings. At the present time, the paternal lineage is strong in its control of wealth, rank, inheritance, and succession. Both paternal and maternal lineages control food divisions and previously controlled organization for contests.

Kennedy (1939:297), speaking of Vaitupan social structure, especially with reference to the exchange of presents at marriage and birth, sees definite evidence "of dual organization and matrilineal descent". The maternal lineage in Pukapuka also functions as a controlling unit at birth and marriage. Kennedy believes that in respect to dual organization, Vaitupa "was at a